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Treaty-Making Powers of the Senate

HE United States Senate, during the short session of the 70th Congress which meets December 3, 1928, will be requested by President Coolidge to authorize ratification of the Kellogg Treaty for the Renunciation of War, signed by fifteen countries at Paris on August 27. There is little doubt that the Senate will be asked to ratify the treaty without any qualification or reservation, inasmuch as Secretary Kellogg insisted upon a similar unqualified acceptance on the part of the other signatories prior to the signing in Paris. Although compliance with this request was gained only by permitting the several powers to express their "understanding" of the Treaty in unilateral notes or declarations, the text of the agreement itself has been signed in the precise terms of the American Secretary of State, without amendment or alteration.

The rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and the amendments to the World Court Protocol are still fresh in the memory of many European countries and apparently it is the intention of Great Britain and France, and possibly other signatories, to await the action of the United States Senate before ratifying the Kellogg Treaty. This has been interpreted in some quarters as a precaution to avoid the difficulties over ratification by the Senate which have arisen in the past.

What are the constitutional powers of the Senate and the President in the making of treaties, and how often has the Senate used its power to amend or reject treaties since the birth of the Republic? This report briefly reviews the provisions of the Constitution and their application by the Senate.

Under the Articles of Confederation, from 1787 to 1792, the treaty-making power had been vested in the Congress, and it was necessary for nine states to concur. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787 the delegates debated whether to vest this power in the entire Congress, the Senate, the President, or merely in the President "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." The latter provision was finally adopted. after Madison had voiced strenuous objection to placing the power solely with the Congress or the Senate. The negotiation of treaties was thus taken away from the legislative branch and given to the Executive, but it was provided by the framers of the

Constitution that the Senate should act as an executive council.

THE CONSTITUTION AND TREATY-MAKING

The Constitution provides (Article II, Section 2, Paragraph 2) that the President "shall have power by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

The process of treaty-making usually falls into two parts-negotiation and ratification. In the early years of the Republic, Washington consulted the Senate with regard to the negotiation of treaties. At the time of the appointment of John Jay to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain, the Senate defeated a resolution which would have associated the entire Senate with the President in the actual negotiation of a treaty. The treaty was negotiated by the Executive and when it was submitted to the Senate for its advice and consent, Aaron Burr introduced a resolution which recommended that the President open further negotiations with Great Britain in order to conclude a treaty in accordance with the wishes of the Senate. This resolution was defeated, and changed the whole course of treaty-making under the United States Constitution. Henceforth. with a few exceptions, treaties were negotiated without any official advice of the Senate. Presidents who wished the Senate to advise and consent to the projects negotiated, paid attention, however, to the probable attitude which the Senate might take. In 1816, the Senate created the Committee on Foreign Relations, a standing Committee, through which most Presidents have maintained close contact with the Senate regarding pending negotiations. Following Washington's administration, no President appeared before the Senate to ask its advice during the negotiation of a treaty for 128 years, when Woodrow Wilson addressed the Senate on the essential terms of peace on January 23, 1917.

The action of the Senate has come to be practically limited to the approval of treaties laid before it by the President. As Professor Corwin says:

"... since the Senate may or may not consent, it may consent conditionally, stating its

conditions in the form of amendments to the proposed treaty or of reservations to the proposed act of ratification, the difference between the two being, that whereas amendments, if accepted by the President and the other party, or parties to the treaty, change it for all parties, reservations merely limit the obligations of the United States thereunder. Amendments are accordingly resorted to in the case of bilateral treaties, and reservations in the case of international treaties, like the League of Nations Covenant. Of course, if the President is dissatisfied with the conditions laid down by the Senate to ratification he may refuse to proceed further with the matter, as may also the other party or parties to the proposed treaty."1

CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE AND THE SENATE

Nevertheless other forms of consultation between the Executive and the Senate have frequently taken place. In a message of June 10, 1846, President Polk sent a draft to the Senate of a proposed treaty with Great Britain in regard to the Oregon boundary. At the same time the President wrote: "The Senate are a branch of the treaty-making power, and by consulting them in advance of his own action upon important measures of foreign policy which may ultimately come before them for their consideration the President secures harmony of action between that body and himself."

It has also been the practice of some administrations to maintain very close relations with members of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, consulting them very often at all stages of the negotiation.

The requirement of the United States Constitution that treaties, in order to be valid. must be approved by the Senate, is not peculiar to this country. With the growth of constitutional government there has been a marked tendency for constitutions to require the assent of the legislative branch, or a part thereof, before a treaty is validly concluded. In England, however, the power to ratify treaties is part of the prerogatives of the Parliament intervenes only when necessary to enact legislation carrying the treaty into effect as law of the land. Such legislation seems to be necessary only when private rights are involved. In France the President must secure the consent of a majority of both houses of parliament before

^{1.} Corwin, E. S. The Constitution and What It Means Today, Princeton University Press, 1924.

ratifying certain classes of treaties, such as the status of persons and property rights of Frenchmen abroad. There is no obligation to submit treaties of alliance or arbitration treaties to parliament.²

Refusal to ratify a treaty may be perfectly legal under international law. The Convention on Treaties approved by the Sixth Pan American Conference at Havana provided (Article 7): "Refusal to ratify or the formulation of a reservation are actions inherent to national sovereignty, and as such constitute the exercise of a right which violates no international stipulation or good form."

At the same time a government in which one branch negotiates a treaty in complete independence of the wishes of another branch, whose approval is necessary before ratification, may lay itself open to misinterpretation by other governments.

"WITH RESERVATIONS"

To determine what effect the American constitutional system has had upon the conduct of our foreign relations, it is necessary to refer to the number of treaties which the Senate has amended or rejected, or to which it has made reservations.

A compilation of treaties amended by the Senate or ratified subject to reservations shows the extent to which the Senate has used its authority. The list appended to this report is the first of its kind to include treaties amended by the Senate after March 9, 1901, since which date the Executive Journal of the Senate has not been made public. The present compilation shows that from the ratification of the Constitution up to and including the first session of the 70th Congress (1928) the Senate has advised the ratification of no less than 146 treaties subject to amendments or reservations altering the terms to which the United States would Of these 146 treaties 48 never came into effect, either because the President refused to ratify the amended agreements or because the other party or parties refused to ratify. Ninety-eight of the treaties were promulgated and came into effect with the Senate's reservations or

amendments incorporated in the text or act of adherence.

While the list shows that relatively more treaties have been amended in recent years than during the early years of the Republic, this is in part explained by the fact that many more treaties have been considered by the Senate in the past 25 years. From 1794 to 1901, however, 88 treaties were amended, (27 never came into effect) whereas from 1901 to 1928, a period one-fourth as long, 58 treaties were amended (21 never came into effect).

Not all of these treaties were of great international importance. Some of them, however, were the subject of prolonged debate, and led to bitter struggles between the President, or the Secretary of State, and the Senate. Of the treaties amended or rejected during the past thirty years the most important were the General Arbitration Treaty of 1897 with Great Britain, the arbitration treaties of 1905 and 1908, the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the Treaty of Versailles, and the adherence of the United States to the Protocol of the World Court. A brief review of the Senate's action in amending or rejecting these treaties is of interest at this time.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN EXECUTIVE AND SENATE

In 1897, Secretary of State Olney and Lord Salisbury, after prolonged negotiation, finally reached an agreement on the terms of a general arbitration treaty which provided in effect for the submission of certain differences which they were not able to adjust by diplomatic negotiations. The Senate. after debating the treaty, first amended it beyond recognition, and finally on May 5, 1897, failed to ratify it. The most important amendments were those which provided that no difference be submitted under the treaty which, in the judgment of either power, affects its honor, the integrity of its territory, or its foreign or domestic policy; no claim against any state of the United States alleged to be due the Government of Great Britain should be subject to arbitration, and any agreement to submit a particular question to arbitration was to be submitted to the Senate and concurred in by a two-thirds majority.

^{2.} Article 76 (1) of the Mexican Constitution gives the Senate power to approve treaties, but apparently by majority vote.

Five years after the failure of the British treaty, President Roosevelt attempted to negotiate a general "Compulsory Arbitration Treaty" with the governments which had signed the Hague Convention. Between 1904 and 1905 treaties were negotiated with Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Portugal, Austria, Hungary, Sweden, Norway, Mexico and Japan. When the first of these treaties, that with France, was reported to the Senate in February 1905, it was ratified with an amendment providing in effect that in each individual case the contracting parties should conclude a special treaty clearly defining the matter in dispute.

President Roosevelt expressed vigorous opposition to the amendment, declaring in a letter to Senator Lodge, dated January 6, 1905, that it "cut the heart out of the treaty." He went on to say:

"... In fact, I think that this amendment makes the treaties shams, and my present impression is that we had better abandon the whole business rather than give the impression of trickiness and insincerity which would be produced by solemnly promulgating a sham. The amendment, in effect, is to make any one of these so-called arbitration treaties solemnly enact that there shall be another arbitration treaty whenever the two Governments decide that there shall be one. Of course, it is mere nonsense to have a treaty which does nothing but say, what there is no power of enforcing, that whenever we choose there shall be another arbitration We could have these further special arbitration treaties in special cases whenever desired just exactly as well if there were no general arbitration treaty at all. Now, as far as I am concerned, I wish either to take part in something that means something or else not to have any part in it at all."4

The reasons which induced the Senate to add the amendment were revealed in the minority report on the treaties.⁵

"The firm grasp upon our relations with foreign governments, placed in the hands of a minority of one-third of the Senate by the Constitution, whereby entangling alliances and wars have been often prevented, and our national independence and individuality have been preserved, is being relaxed and the people are losing that power of self-protection. It is silently passing from the hands of their representatives ... into the sole and exclusive power of the President...

"Such is the effect that must result from the conventions now before the Senate and, so far as can be seen, that is one of the real intents and purposes intended to be accomplished by their ratification...

"This fatal door in these conventions, through which the rightful powers of the Senate will pass into the hands of the Executive, should be closed so that a mere diplomatic agreement concluded by the President can not bind the Government of the United States and all the states and all the people to obey it as the supreme law of the United States. Our Government will become a true autocracy when the President is invested with this power."

With this indication of the Senate's course, President Roosevelt, in a letter to Senator Cullom, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, declared that if the amendment were adopted he would not submit the treaties to the other powers. He said:

"The Senate has, of course, the absolute right to reject or to amend in any way it sees fit any treaty laid before it, and it is clearly the duty of the Senate to take any step which, in the exercise of its best judgment, it deems to be for the interest of the nation. If, however, in the judgment of the President, a given amendment nullifies a proposed treaty, it seems to me that it is no less clearly his duty to refrain from endeavoring to secure a ratification, by the other contracting power or powers, of the amended treaty; and, after much thought, I have come to the conclusion that I ought to write and tell you that such is my judgment in the case."

The next day the Senate failed to follow the advice of the President, and consented to the ratification of the French Treaty with the amendment. President Roosevelt thereupon dropped the treaties.

Three years later, however, President Roosevelt consented to reopen negotiations to include the treaties with a clause satisfactory to the Senate. Twenty-five agreements were negotiated by Secretary Root, and twenty-two were ratified and came into effect.

PRESIDENT TAFT AND THE SENATE

President Taft experienced a similar difficulty with the Senate when he attempted to negotiate a general compulsory arbitration treaty with Great Britain and France which went beyond anything hitherto proposed. The text as finally signed provided for obligatory arbitration of justiciable disputes and provided for referring all other ques-

^{4.} Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918, II, p. 111-112.

^{5.} Senate Document No. 115, 58th Congress, Third Session.

tions to a Commission of Inquiry for impartial investigation. The Commission was empowered to decide whether the question was justiciable. Recalling the fate of the earlier treaties, President Taft had included a clause to the effect that a "special agreement," referring any given case to arbitration, should be made "by and with the consent of the Senate."

When the treaties went to the Senate, the clause providing that the Commission of Inquiry should decide whether a specific case was subject to arbitration when the two parties were unable to agree was stricken out. Senator Lodge, in presenting the majority report, declared "that each and every part of the treaty must receive the consent of two-thirds of the Senate," and strongly urged the elimination of the clause.

When additional amendments were added, President Taft refused to submit the "mutilated" treaty to France and Great Britain for ratification.

THE FIRST HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY

The first Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain was only one of a number of treaties negotiated by John Hay, as Secretary of State under McKinley and Roosevelt, and amended by the Senate. Hay held very definite, if not precisely impartial, views as to the rôle played by the Senate. Writing to Joseph H. Choate on August 18, 1899, Secretary Hay declared that the "irreparable mistake of our Constitution puts it into the power of one-third plus one of the Senate to meet with a categorical veto any treaty negotiated by the President, even though it may have the approval of nine-tenths of the people of the nation."

The previous year, when he was Ambassador to Great Britain, Hay wrote his friend, Henry Adams: "I have told you many times that I did not believe another important treaty would pass the Senate. . . The man who makes the treaty of peace with Spain will be lucky if he escapes lynching." Shortly afterwards Hay became Secretary of State, and was responsible for negotiating the treaty himself.

In September, 1900, Secretary Hay wrote to Samuel Mather that he did not see how he could continue in office. "The attitude of the Senate," he said, "makes it impossible for me to carry out the policies I had hoped for when I entered the Department. I shall be sorry to part with the President who has stood nobly by me in everything; but there will always be 34 per cent of the Senate on the blackguard side of every question that comes before them." Again, he wrote: "A treaty entering the Senate is like a bull going into the arena; no one can say just how or when the final blow will fall—but one thing is certain, it will never leave the arena alive."

WILSON AND THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

The controversy between President Wilson and the Senate over the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles need not be reviewed at length here. Suffice it to say that when the treaty was submitted to the Senate, Senator Lodge, in the majority report, recommended 45 amendments to the treaty and four reservations. President Wilson, at a conference with the members of the Foreign Relations Committee, held at the White House, August 19, 1919, had strongly opposed any reservations which, he said, would kill the treaty. He was not opposed to the Senate's interpreting any articles of the treaty it saw fit, however, so long as it did not make the interpretations a part of the act of adherence. This, he held, would involve the reconsideration of the whole treaty by the other powers, and would nullify the Covenant. Senator Hitchcock, who supported the administration, submitted a minority report, calling for ratification without amendment or reservation.

When the Lodge amendments came to a vote they were defeated, with the mild reservationists voting with the Wilson Democrats. On November 19, three votes on the treaty were taken, two on the Lodge Resolution, which was rejected, and one on the Democratic Resolution, providing for ratification without amendment. The latter was defeated by a vote of 38 for, and 53 against.

Before the treaty came up again in February, 1920, President Wilson made an extensive speaking tour of the country in sup-

port of the treaty. His supporters in the Senate, however, had given up all hope of securing unconditional ratification. The Resolution which finally came to a vote on March 19, contained several reservations, including the Lodge reservation to Article X of the League of Nations Covenant. It failed of the necessary two-thirds majority by seven votes. But the opponents of the League had effectively killed the treaty, and Congress later adopted a joint resolution for a separate peace with Germany.

THE WORLD COURT PROTOCOL

The effort to secure American adherence to the World Court Protocol involved an even longer, if less bitter, controversy by the Executive and the Senate. In February 1923, President Harding asked the Senate's consent to adhere to the Protocol with four reservations drafted by Secretary of State Hughes, and designed to make it clear that the United States would not accept commitments under the League Covenant.

Despite the recommendation of President Coolidge in December, 1923, urging ratification on the basis of the Hughes reservations, and despite a plank favoring the Court in the platform of both major political parties in 1924, more than three years elapsed before any action was taken by the Senate. During this time the Foreign Relations Committee, which was still predominantly anti-League, voted to report a resolution of ratification which contained reservations designed to separate the Court completely from the League of Nations. This resolution did not meet with the approval of President Coolidge, who, in accepting the Republican nomination for President, said: "We propose to become a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice."

In his message to Congress of December 3, 1924, however, the President recognized the attitude of the Senate, at least in part, when he suggested a new reservation to the effect that the United States should not be bound by advisory opinions which may be rendered by the Court upon questions which we have not voluntarily submitted for its judgment. The Senate took no action on the Court before the end of the 68th Con-

gress, March 4, 1925. It was believed that those opposed to the treaty instead of attacking the Court directly had apparently attempted to obtain reservations that would be unacceptable to other members of the Court.

Consideration of the World Court Resolution was finally begun in January, 1926, and was adopted on January 27 with five reservations, and one "understanding." The fifth reservation was the most important, providing:

"That the Court shall not render an advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all states adhering to the Court and to all interested states and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any state concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest."

The resolution was adopted with 76 Senators voting for, and 17 against.

At a meeting of the states signatory to the World Court Protocol, held at Geneva in September, 1926, the first three of the Senate's reservations were accepted. The meaning of the fourth and fifth reservations was not clearly understood by the Conference. and the final section of the fifth reservation created particular confusion. In September 1926, twenty-one countries formally requested the President of the United States to clarify the meaning of the fifth reservation, and suggested a further exchange of views between the United States and the countries adhering to the Court. The note was not answered, President Coolidge explaining in an Armistice Day address, 1926, that he did not believe the Senate would take favorable action on any such proposal, and that unless the requirements of the Senate resolution were met by the interested nations, he could see no prospect of this country adhering to the Court.

No further exchange of views has taken place between the United States and the other powers.

CRITICISMS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

Any system in which the Executive has the right to ratify treaties without legislative consent may be criticized on the ground that it is undemocratic and lacking in popular control. The American system, on the other hand, has been criticized by former Attorney-General Wickersham as "so complicated as to be almost unworkable."

"Only by the exercise of great powers of conciliation or of domination by the President, or by awakening and directing upon the Senate a vigorous public opinion, can any progress be made in international relations. A body of ninety-six men of such diverse characteristics and opinions as the members of the Senate is almost hopeless as an executive force. But it is ideal for purposes of obstruction."

Mr. John W. Davis, speaking before the American Bar Association several years ago, declared in regard to the Senate's power:

"Nor does it contribute to national influence or prestige or safety that the process of ratifying or rejecting treaties should degenerate into an effort to discover some qualifying formula acceptable to a minority. There is grave danger in forgetting that, whether in matters domestic or foreign, the business of government is to govern."

The effect of the American constitutional system, as a result of the treaty-making powers of the Senate, has thus been criticized as damaging to leadership in foreign affairs on the part of the Executive. The Executive has been induced to find methods of conducting international business, which avoid the need of consulting the Senate namely, through the so-called executive agreement. Thus President Roosevelt entered into a Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan in 1908, regulating immigration between Japan and the United States. General Henry L. Stimson, on behalf of President Coolidge, entered into an agreement with Nicaragua in 1928 providing that the United States should supervise a presidential election in that country. Originally President Roosevelt negotiated a treaty providing for financial control in Santo Domingo, but when the Senate failed to approve the treaty, he accomplished the same end, in 1905, by means of an executive agreement, which was, however, later supplanted by a treaty. The attitude of the Senate toward a treaty establishing a receivership in Santo Domingo also induced

7. Ibid.

President Roosevelt not to negotiate such a treaty with Liberia. Instead, in 1911, he assisted private bankers to arrange for a loan and the establishment of American financial control in Liberia. The financial adviser of Liberia was, however, designated by the President of the United States. In the 1927 loan agreement made between the Government of Liberia and an American concern, the Finance Corporation of America, the United States Government designates the Financial Adviser of Liberia and recommends military officers to direct the Liberia Frontier Force. The State Department, under certain circumstances, also arranges the arbitration of disputes under the loan agreement. The Government of the United States was not, however, a party to the agreement, and the agreement of course was not submitted to the Senate for approval.

The Democratic platform of 1928 takes the following stand with regard to executive agreements:

"Abolition of the practice of the President entering into and carrying out agreements with a foreign government, either de facto or de jure, for the protection of such government against revolution or foreign attack, or for the supervision of its internal affairs, when such agreements have not been advised and consented to by the Senate as provided in the Constitution of the United States, and we condemn the Administration for carrying out such an unratified agreement that requires us to use our armed forces in Nicaragua."

Several suggestions have been put forward to remedy the situation created by the separation of powers between the President and the Senate. It has been suggested that the Secretary of State be admitted to the floor of either House, where he would virtually be obliged to answer questions concerning the negotiation of treaties. transfer of the approval of treaties from a minority in the Senate to a majority of both Houses has been recommended, in order to avoid deadlocks over treaties. Finally, the creation of an Advisory Committee of Foreign Affairs, composed of representatives of both parties in Congress and of the public, which the President should consult on all important negotiations and questions of policy, has been proposed.

^{6.} Wickersham, G. W. The Senate and Our Foreign Relations, Foreign Affairs, December 15, 1923.

APPENDIX

The following list contains treaties the ratificacation of which has been advised by the Senate subject to amendments or reservations. The list has been divided into two parts: The first includes treaties amended by the Senate and afterwards ratified by the President and the other party or parties; the second includes treaties, amended by the Senate, which subsequently did not come into effect, either because of non-acceptance by other signatory powers or because of non-acceptance by the President.

Up to 1901 both sections are based on a list prepared by Dr. W. Stull Holt of George Washington University, from the *Executive Journals*; a list published by Dr. C. C. Tansill in the *American*

Journal of International Law for July, 1924; and a list published by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in Scribner's Magazine for January, 1902. These lists have been checked with Malloy's Treaties, Convenventions, etc., Between the United States and Other Powers.

As the Executive Journal of the Senate has not been made public since March 9, 1901, treaties listed since that date have been compiled with the assistance of Mr. L. W. Bailey, Executive Clerk of the Senate, from Senate records of treaties which have been made public. Since the injunction of secrecy has been removed from most treaties acted upon by the Senate since 1901, the present list, although not complete, is very nearly so.

TREATIES AMENDED BY THE SENATE AND AFTERWARDS RATIFIED BY THE PRESIDENT AND THE OTHER SIGNATORY OR SIGNATORIES

DATE OF SIGNATURE

- Nov. 19, 1794. Great Britain, Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation (Jay Treaty); concluded Nov. 19, 1794; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, June 24, 1795; ratifications exchanged Oct. 28, 1795. (Malloy, Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, etc., between the United States of America and other Powers, Vol. I, p. 590-607; Executive Journal of the Senate, Vol. I, p. 185-7.)
- Aug. 1797. Tunis, Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation; concluded August, 1797; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments March 6, 1798; after alterations were concluded ratifications again advised by Senate, Dec. 24, 1799. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1794-1800; Ex. Jo., Vol. I, p. 263-4.)
- Sept. 30, 1800. France, Convention of Peace, Commerce and Navigation; concluded Sept. 30, 1800; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments Feb. 3, 1801; ratifications exchanged July 31, 1801. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 496-505; Ex. Jo., Vol. I, p. 377.)
- July 3, 1815. Great Britain, Convention of Commerce and Navigation; concluded July 3, 1815; ratification advised by Senate subject to exception as to the Island of Saint Helena, Dec. 19, 1815; ratifications exchanged Dec. 22, 1815. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 624-8; Ex. Jo., Vol. III, p. 6.)
- Sept. 4, 1816. Sweden and Norway, Treaty of Amity and Commerce; concluded Sept. 4, 1816; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Feb. 19, 1817; ratifica-

- tions exchanged Sept. 25, 1818. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1742-48; Ex. Jo., Vol. III, p. 78.)
- May 7, 1830. Ottoman Empire (Turkey), Treaty of Commerce and Navigation; concluded May 7, 1830; ratification advised with amendment, Feb. 1, 1831; ratifications exchanged Oct. 5, 1831. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1318-20; Ex. Jo., Vol. IV, p. 148-50.)
- Jan. 21, 1845. Bavaria, Convention Abolishing Droit d'Aubaine and Taxes on Emigration; concluded Jan. 21, 1845; ratification advised by the Senate with an amendment March 15, 1845; ratifications exchanged Nov. 4, 1845. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 56-58; Ex. Jo., Vol. VI, p. 447-8.)
- May 14, 1845. Saxony, Convention Abolishing Droit d'Aubaine and Emigration Taxes; concluded May 14, 1845; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, April 15, 1846; ratifications exchanged Aug. 12, 1846. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1610-11; Ex. Jo., Vol. VII, p. 64.)
- Feb. 2, 1848. Mexico, Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Limits and Settlement; concluded Feb. 2, 1848; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, March 10, 1848; ratifications exchanged May 30, 1848. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1107-20; Ex. Jo., Vol. VII, p. 334-40.)
- Nov. 25, 1850. Switzerland, Convention of Friendship, Commerce, and Extradition; concluded Nov. 25, 1850; ratification advised by Senate with amendments March 7, 1851; ratified by the President March 12, 1851; ratification again advised by the Senate with amendment, May 29, 1854;

- finally ratified by the President Nov. 6, 1854; ratifications exchanged Nov. 8, 1855. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1763-68, Ex. Jo., Vol. VIII, p. 315-17, Vol. IX, p. 331.)
- Feb. 23, 1853. France, Consular Convention; concluded Feb. 23, 1853; ratification advised by Senate with amendments, March 29, 1853; ratifications exchanged Aug. 11, 1853. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 528-33, Ex. Jo., Vol. IX, p. 122-8.)
- Sept. 12, 1853. Bavaria, Extradition Convention; concluded Sept. 12, 1853; ratification advised by the Senate with an amendment, July 12, 1854; ratifications exchanged Nov. 1, 1854. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 58-60, Ex. Jo., Vol. IX, p. 353.)
- Dec. 30, 1858. Mexico, Treaty of Boundary, Cession of Territory, etc., concluded Dec. 30, 1853; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, April 25, 1854; ratifications exchanged June 30, 1854. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1121-25; Ex. Jo., Vol. IX, p. 309-15.)
- Aug. 21, 1854. Brunswick and Luneburg, Convention respecting the Disposition of Property; concluded Aug. 21, 1854; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, March 3, 1855; ratifications exchanged July 28, 1855. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 156-57, Ex. Jo., Vol. IX, p. 435.)
- Oct. 1, 1855. Two Sicilies, Kingdom of, Convention of Amity, Commerce, Navigation and Extradition; concluded Oct. 1, 1855; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Aug. 13, 1856; ratifications exchanged Nov. 7, 1856. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1814-24, Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 143-44.)
- May 29, 1856. Siam, Treaty of Amity and Commerce; concluded May 29, 1856; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, March 13, 1857; ratifications exchanged June 15, 1857. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1629-33, Ex. Jo., Vol. X, Tansill says, p. 256; Holt says, p. 462.)
- July 3, 1856. Austria-Hungary, Extradition Convention; concluded July 3, 1856; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1856; ratifications exchanged Dec. 13, 1856. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 36-38, Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 146.)
- Sept. 10, 1857. New Granada, (Colombia), Claims
 Convention; concluded Sept. 10, 1857; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 8, 1859; ratifications exchanged Nov. 5, 1860. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 319-21, Ex. Jo., Vol. XI, p. 89-91.)
- Feb. 10, 1858. France, Additional Article to Extradition Convention; concluded Feb. 10, 1858; ratification advised by Senate with amend-

- ment, June 15, 1858; ratifications exchanged Feb. 12, 1859. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 533-34, Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 461-2.)
- May 13, 1858. Bolivia, Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Navigation; concluded May 13, 1858; ratification advised with amendments by the Senate, June 26, 1860; amendments proposed by Constituent Assembly of Bolivia, consented to by the Senate and time for exchange of ratifications extended, Feb. 3, 1862; ratifications exchanged Nov. 9, 1862. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 113-25, Ex. Jo., Vol. XI, p. 218-20, and Vol. XII, p. 107.)
- Dec. 11, 1861. Mexico, Extradition Treaty; concluded Dec. 11, 1861; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, April 9, 1862; ratifications exchanged May 20, 1862. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1125-27; Ex. Jo., Vol. XII, p. 227-28.)
- Jan. 12, 1863. Peru, Claims Convention; concluded
 Jan. 12, 1863; ratification advised by the
 Senate with amendment, Feb. 18, 1863;
 ratifications exchanged April 18, 1863.
 (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1408-10, Ex. Jo., Vol. XIII, p. 143-44.)
- Feb. 22, 1868. North German Union, Naturalization Convention; concluded Feb. 22, 1868; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, March 26, 1868; ratifications exchanged May 9, 1868. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1298-99, Ex. Jo., Vol. XVI, p. 208.)
- Mar. 23, 1868. Italy, Extradition Convention; concluded Mar. 23, 1868; ratification advised by the Senate with an amendment, June 17, 1868; ratifications exchanged Sept. 17, 1868. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 966-68, Ex. Jo., Vol. XVI, p. 263.)
- July 10, 1868. Mexico, Convention Regulating Citizenship of Emigrants; concluded July 10, 1868; ratification advised by the Senate, July 25, 1868; ratifications exchanged Feb. 1, 1869. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1132-33, Ex. Jo., Vol. XVI, p. 371.)
- July 28, 1868. China, Treaty of Trade, Consuls and Emigration; concluded July 28, 1868; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, July 24, 1868; ratifications exchanged Nov. 23, 1869. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 234-6, Ex. Jo., Vol. XVI, p. 355-56.)
- May 26, 1869. Sweden and Norway, Naturalization Convention; concluded May 26, 1869; ratification of convention and protocol advised by the Senate with amendment, Dec. 9, 1870; ratifications exchanged June 14, 1871; exchange of ratifications consented to by the Senate Jan. 8, 1872. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1758-61, Ex. Jo., Vol. XVII, p. 577.)

- June 25, 1870. Nicaragua, Extradition Convention; concluded June 25, 1870; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 31, 1871; ratifications exchanged June 24, 1871. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1287-90, Ex. Jo., Vol. XVIII, p. 51.)
- Nov. 27, 1872. Mexico, Claims Convention; concluded Nov. 27, 1872; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Mar. 9, 1873; ratifications exchanged July 17, 1873. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1134-35, Ex. Jo., Vol. XIX, p. 12-13.)
- Jan. 30, 1875. Hawaiian Islands, Treaty of Reciprocity; concluded Jan. 30, 1875; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment March 18, 1875; ratifications exchanged June 3, 1875. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 915-17; Ex. Jo., Vol. XX, p. 41-42.)
- Jan. 17, 1878. Samoan Islands, Treaty of Commerce; concluded Jan. 17, 1878; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Jan. 30, 1878; ratifications exchanged Feb. 11, 1878. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1574-76, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXI, p. 220-21.)
- Mar. 9, 1880. Belgium, Consular Convention; concluded Mar. 9, 1880; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, June 15, 1880; ratifications exchanged Feb. 25, 1881. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 94-99, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXII, p. 372.)
- May 22, 1882. Corea, Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation; concluded May 22, 1882; ratification advised by the Senate with an understanding Jan. 9, 1883; ratifications exchanged May 19, 1883. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 334-40, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXIII, p. 585.)
- Jan. 20, 1883. Mexico, Commercial Reciprocity Convention; concluded Jan. 20, 1883; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, March 11, 1884; ratifications exchanged May 20, 1884. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1146-57, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXIV, p. 210-11.)
- Feb. 8, 1883. France, Claims Convention; concluded Feb. 8, 1883; ratification advised by the Senate with an amendment, Feb. 21, 1883; ratifications exchanged June 25, 1883. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 540-41, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXIII, p. 650-58.)
- Dec. 6, 1884. Hawaiian Islands, Reciprocity Convention; concluded Dec. 6, 1884; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Jan. 20, 1887; ratifications exchanged Nov. 9, 1887. (Malloy, Vol. I, 919-20, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXV, p. 708-10.)
- Dec. 5, 1885. Venezuela, Claims Convention; concluded Dec. 5, 1885; ratification with amendments advised by the Senate, April

- 15, 1886; ratifications exchanged June 3, 1889. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1858-64, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXV, p. 422-23.)
- April 29, 1886. Japan, Extradition Treaty; concluded April 29, 1886; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, June 21, 1886; ratifications exchanged Sept. 27, 1886. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1025-28, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXV, p. 508-9.)
- July 3, 1886. Zanzibar, Treaty as to Duties on Liquors and Consular Powers; concluded July 3, 1886; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, April 12, 1888; ratifications exchanged June 29, 1888. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1899-1900, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 237.)
- Oct. 2, 1886. Tonga, Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation; concluded Oct. 2, 1886; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Jan. 19, 1888; ratifications exchanged Aug. 1, 1888. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1781-84, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 143-44.)
- Mar. 28, 1887. Russia, Extradition Convention; concluded Mar. 28, 1887; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Feb. 6, 1893; ratifications exchanged April 21, 1893. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1527-31, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVIII, p. 385-86.)
- June 2, 1887 (?) Netherlands, Extradition Convention; concluded June 2, 1887; ratification advised by the Senate Mar. 26, 1889 (W. S. Holt and H. C. Lodge include it in their lists as a treaty amended by the Senate; Tansill and Malloy do not indicate that it was amended. Holt refers to Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 194); ratifications exchanged May 31, 1889. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1266-70.)
- Aug. 31, 1887. Peru, Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation; concluded Aug. 31, 1887; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, May 10, 1888; ratifications exchanged Oct. 1, 1888. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1431-43, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 260.)
- May 7, 1888. Colombia, Extradition Convention; concluded May 7, 1888; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 26, 1889; ratification with amendments proposed by Colombia advised by the Senate, Feb. 27, 1890; ratifications exchanged Nov. 12, 1890. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 323-26, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVII, p. 41-42.)
- Mar. 1, 1889. Mexico, Boundary Convention; concluded Mar. 1, 1889; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, May 7, 1890; ratifications exchanged Dec. 24, 1890. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1167-69, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVII, p. 613.)

- July 12, 1889. Great Britain, Extradition Convention; concluded July 12, 1889; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Feb. 18, 1890; ratifications exchanged Mar. 11, 1890. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 740-42, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVII, p. 468-71.)
- July 2, 1890. General Act for the Repression of African Slave Trade; concluded July 2, 1890; ratification advised by the Senate, Jan. 11, 1892; ratification deposited with Belgian Government, Feb. 2, 1892; proclaimed April 2, 1892. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1964-92. Holt says it was once rejected by a vote 26-33, but reconsidered and unanimously approved with amendment by resolution, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVIII, p. 121.)
- Jan. 24, 1891. Congo, Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation; concluded Jan. 24, 1891; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Jan. 11, 1892; ratifications exchanged Feb. 2, 1892. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 328-33, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVIII, p. 121.)
- Apr. 15, 1891. Supplementary Industrial Convention (Third Protocol supplementary to Convention for International Protection of Industrial Property, concluded at Paris, Mar. 20, 1883); concluded at Madrid, Apr. 15, 1891; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Mar. 2, 1892; ratifications exchanged June 15, 1892. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1943-44, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVIII, p. 170.)
- Feb. 29, 1892. Great Britain, Convention Relating to Fur Seals in Behring Sea; concluded Feb. 29, 1892; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Mar. 29, 1892; ratifications exchanged May 7, 1892. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 746-50, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVIII, p. 197-98.)
- Nov. 22, 1894. Japan, Treaty of Commerce and Navigation; concluded Nov. 22, 1894; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Feb. 5, 1895; ratifications exchanged Mar. 21, 1895. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 1028-35, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXIX, Part 2, p. 917-18.)
- Feb. 8, 1896. Great Britain, Convention for the Settlement of Claims Presented by Great Britain against the United States in Virtue of the Convention of February 19, 1892; concluded Feb. 8, 1896; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Apr. 15, 1896; ratifications exchanged June 3, 1896. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 766-69, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXX, p. 225-26.)
- Sept. 26, 1896. Argentine Republic, Extradition Convention; concluded Sept. 26, 1896; ratification with amendments advised by the Senate, Jan. 28, 1897; ratifications exchanged June 2, 1900. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 25-28, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXX, p. 377-78.)

- Oct. 28, 1896. Orange Free State, Extradition Treaty; concluded Oct. 28, 1896; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Jan. 28, 1897; ratifications exchanged Apr. 20, 1899. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1313-17, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXX, p. 378-79.)
- May 14, 1897. Brazil, Extradition Convention and Protocol; concluded respectively, May 14, 1897, and May 28, 1898; ratification advised by the Senate, Feb. 28, 1899; ratifications exchanged April 18, 1903. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 146-52, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXI, Part 2, p. 1346-47.)
- May 24, 1897. Chili, Convention to Revive the Convention of Aug. 7, 1892, to Adjust Amicably the Claims of Citizens of Either Country against the Other; signed at Washington May 24, 1897; ratification with amendments advised by the Senate, Feb. 28, 1899; ratifications exchanged Mar. 12, 1900. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 190-91, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXI, Part 2, p. 1345-46.)
- Mar. 2, 1899. Great Britain, Convention as to the Tenure and Disposition of Real and Personal Property; concluded Mar. 2, 1899; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 22, 1900; ratifications exchanged July 28, 1900. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 774-76, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXII, p. 432-33.)
- Nov. 28, 1899. Peru, Extradition Treaty; concluded Nov. 28, 1899; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 8, 1900; ratifications exchanged Jan. 23, 1901. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1445-49, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXII, p. 378-79.)
- Apr. 17, 1900. Chili, Extradition Convention; concluded Apr. 17, 1900; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Dec. 18, 1900; ratifications exchanged May 27, 1902. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 192-95, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXII, p. 615-16.)
- Apr. 21, 1900. Bolivia, Extradition Convention; concluded Apr. 21, 1900; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Dec. 18, 1900; ratifications exchanged Dec. 23, 1901. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 125-29, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXII, p. 614-15.)
- May 14, 1900. Switzerland, Extradition Treaty; concluded May 14, 1900; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, June 5, 1900; ratifications exchanged Feb. 27, 1901. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1771-75, Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXII, p. 527.)
- Oct. 25, 1901. Belgium, Mutual Extradition of Fugitives from Justice; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Jan. 30, 1902; ratifications exchanged June 14, 1902. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 106.)

- Oct. 26, 1901. Servia, Mutual Extradition of Fugitives from Justice; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, January 27, 1902; ratifications exchanged May 13, 1902. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1622.)
- May 31, 1902. Great Britain, Establishment of Import Duties in Zanzibar; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, June 30, 1902; ratifications exchanged Oct. 17, 1902. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 784.)
- Dec. 11, 1902. Cuba, Commercial Convention; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 19, 1903; ratifications exchanged Mar. 31, 1903. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 353.)
- Mar. 2, 1904. Cuba, Adjustment of Title to the Ownership of the Isle of Pines; signed Mar. 2, 1904; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, Mar. 13, 1925; ratifications exchanged Mar. 23, 1925. (U. S. Dept. of State, Treaty Series, No. 709.)
- June 15, 1904. Spain, Extradition of Criminals; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Jan. 16, 1908; ratifications exchanged Apr. 6, 1908. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1712.)
- June 25, 1904. Russia, Agreement to Regulate Position of Corporations and Other Commercial Associations; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, May 6, 1909; proclaimed June 15, 1909. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1534.)
- Mar. 11, 1905. Uruguay, Extradition of Criminals; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Mar. 18, 1905; ratifications exchanged June 4, 1908. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1825.)
- Jan. 10, 1906. San Marino, Extradition; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Apr. 17, 1908; ratifications exchanged June 8, 1908. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1598.)
- Apr. 7, 1906. International Conference of Algeciras; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Dec. 12, 1906; ratifications deposited Dec. 31, 1906. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 2157.)
- Feb. 8, 1907. Dominican Republic, Customs Revenues of the Dominican Republic; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 25, 1907; ratifications exchanged July 8, 1907. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 418.)
- Oct. 18, 1907. Convention for Pacific Settlement of International Disputes signed at the Second Hague Conference; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, Apr. 2, 1908; ratifications deposited Nov. 27, 1909. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 2220.)
- Oct. 18, 1907. Convention for the Limitation of the Employment of Force for the Recovery

- of Contract Debts, Second Hague Conference; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, Apr. 17, 1908; ratifications deposited Nov. 27, 1909. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 2248.)
- Oct. 18, 1907. International Convention Concerning the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Naval War; adherence advised by the Senate, excepting as to Article 23, Apr. 17, 1908; ratification deposited with the Netherlands Government Nov. 27, 1909. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 2352-66.)
- May 7, 1908. Portugal, Extradition; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, May 22, 1908; ratifications exchanged Nov. 14, 1908. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 1469.)
- July 15-23, 1908. Great Britain, Special Agreement between United States and Great Britain for Submission to Hague Court of questions relating to North Atlantic Fisheries; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, Feb. 18, 1909; confirmed by exchange of notes Mar. 4, 1909. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 832-844.)
- Jan. 6, 1909. France, Extradition Convention; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Apr. 5, 1909; ratifications exchanged June 27, 1911. (Malloy, Vol. II, p. 2580-85.)
- Jan. 11, 1909. Great Britain, Boundary Waters
 Between the United States and Canada;
 Treaty Providing for Settlement of International Differences; ratification advised
 by the Senate with reservation, Mar. 3,
 1909; ratifications exchanged May 5, 1910.
 (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2607.)
- June 19, 1909. Dominican Republic, Extradition Convention; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, July 26, 1909; ratifications exchanged Aug. 2, 1910. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2567-72.)
- Feb. 21, 1911. Japan, Treaty of Commerce and Navigation; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 24, 1911; ratifications exchanged Apr. 4, 1911. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2712-17.)
- Jan. 17, 1912. International Sanitary Convention; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, Feb. 19, 1913; ratification deposited with the Government of France Oct. 17, 1920; proclaimed Dec. 11, 1920. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2972-3025.)
- Sept. 20, 1913. Guatemala, Treaty for the Advancement of Peace; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1914; ratifications exchanged Oct. 13, 1914. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2666-67.)
- Nov. 3, 1913. Honduras, Treaty for the Advancement of Peace; ratification advised by the

- Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1914; ratifications exchanged July 27, 1916. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2690-91.)
- Apr. 6, 1914. Colombia, Treaty for the Settlement of Differences Arising out of the Events which took place on the Isthmus of Panama in Nov., 1903; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Apr. 20, 1921; ratifications exchanged Mar. 1, 1922. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2538-41.)
- Aug. 5, 1914. Nicaragua, Convention Respecting a Nicaraguan Canal Route; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 18, 1916; ratifications exchanged June 22, 1916. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2740-43.)
- Aug. 4, 1916. Denmark, Treaty Respecting the Cession of the Danish West Indian Islands to the United States; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Sept. 7, 1916; ratifications exchanged Jan. 17, 1917. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2558-2566.)
- Oct. 20, 1919. Paraguay, Treaty for Development of Commerce; ratifications exchanged after the expiration of the period provided for in the Treaty, were submitted to the Senate Apr. 24, 1922, in conformity with a Senate resolution; ratification approved by the Senate with amendment, Apr. 24, 1922. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2791.)
- Aug. 24, 1921. Austria, Treaty to Establish Friendly Relations; ratification advised by the Senate Oct. 18, 1921, subject to two understandings made a part of the resolution of ratification:
 - "1. That the United States shall not be represented, or participate in any body, agency or commission, nor shall any person represent the United States as a member of any body, agency or commission in which the United States is authorized to participate by this treaty, unless and until an Act of the Congress of the United States shall provide for such representation or participation.
 - "2. And subject to the further understanding...that the rights and advantages which the United States is entitled to have and enjoy under this treaty embrace the rights and advantages of the nationals of the United States specified in the joint resolution or in the provisions of the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye to which this treaty refers."
 - Ratifications exchanged Nov. 8, 1921. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2493-96.)
- Aug. 25, 1921. Germany, Treaty Restoring Friendly Relations; ratification advised by the Senate, subject to two understandings, Oct. 18, 1921; ratifications exchanged Nov. 11, 1921. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2596-2600.)

- Aug. 29, 1921. Hungary, Treaty Establishing Friendly Relations; ratification advised by the Senate, subject to two understandings, Oct. 18, 1921; ratifications exchanged Dec. 17, 1921. (Malloy, Vol. III, p. 2693-97.)
- Dec. 13, 1921. British Empire, France, Japan and the United States; Treaty Relating to Their Insular Possessions and Insular Dominions in the Region of the Pacific Ocean; ratification advised by the Senate with a reservation and understanding, Mar. 24, 1922; ratifications deposited Aug. 17, 1923. (U. S. Dept. of State, Treaty Series, No. 669.)
- Feb. 6, 1922. British Empire, France, Japan and the United States; Agreement Supplementary to the Treaty of Dec. 13, 1921, between the same Four Powers Relating to their Insular Possessions and Insular Dominions in the Region of the Pacific Ocean; ratification advised by the Senate with a reservation and understanding, Mar. 27, 1922; ratifications deposited Aug. 17, 1923. (U. S. Dept. of State, Treaty Series No. 670.)
- Nov. 10, 1922. Costa Rica, Extradition; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment; ratified a second time Feb. 8, 1923.
 (U. S. Dept. of State, Treaty Series No. 668.)
- Apr. 28, 1923. International Convention for the Protection of Trade Marks and Commercial Names, signed at Santiago, Chile, Apr. 28, 1923; ratification advised by the Senate with reservations Feb. 24, 1925; ratification adopted with the Government of Chile, Jan. 16, 1925. (U. S. Dept. of State, Treaty Series No. 751.)
- Dec. 8, 1923. Germany, Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation Feb. 10, 1925; ratifications exchanged Oct. 14, 1925. (U. S. Dept. of State, Treaty Series No. 725.)
- June 21, 1926. International Convention signed at Paris, revising the International Sanitary Convention of Jan. 17, 1912; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation Mar. 22, 1928; ratification deposited by the United States with the Government of the French Republic, June 27, 1928. (U. S. Dept. of State, Treaty Series No. 762.)
- Nov. 25, 1927. International Radio Telegraph Convention and the General Regulations signed at the International Radio Telegraph Conference at Washington on Nov. 25, 1927; ratification advised by the Senate with reservations Mar. 21, 1928; not to come into effect until Jan. 1, 1929.

TREATIES AMENDED BY THE SENATE BUT NOT PROCLAIMED EITHER BECAUSE OF NON-ACCEPTANCE BY OTHER SIGNATORY POWERS OR BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

DATE OF SIGNATURE

- Mar. 13, 1824. Great Britain, Convention for Suppression of African Slave Trade; ratification advised by Senate, with amendments, May 22, 1824. (Ex. Jo., Vol. III, p. 385-87.)
- July 10, 1826. Mexico. Treaty Relative to Neutral Rights; ratification advised by the Senate, with amendments, Feb. 26, 1827. (Ex. Jo., Vol. III, p. 570-72.)
- July 30, 1842. Texas. Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation; ratification advised by the Senate, with amendments, Mar. 3, 1843. (Ex. Jo., Vol. VI, p. 186-89.)
- Apr. 15, 1844. France. Additional Article to Extradition Convention of Nov. 9, 1843; concluded Apr. 15, 1844; approved by the Senate with amendments, Ex. Jo., Vol. VI, p. 346, and later approved with the amendment incorporated, Ex. Jo., Vol. VI, p. 435. This additional article was evidently never ratified but an additional article (signed Feb. 24, 1845) to the same treaty was later ratified. (Malloy, Vol. I, p. 528.)
- Jan. 29, 1845. Prussia. Extradition Treaty; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, June 21, 1848. (Ex. Jo., Vol. VII, p. 433-34 and p. 462-64.)
- Sept. 15, 1846. Switzerland. Treaty of Amity, Consular Privileges, and Extradition; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Mar. 3, 1847. (Ex. Jo., Vol. VII, p. 237.)
- Oct. 9, 1851. Persia. Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 11, 1852. (Ex. Jo., Vol. IX, p. 373-74.)
- Aug. 28, 1852. The Oriental Republic of Uruguay; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, June 13, 1854. (Ex. Jo., Vol. IX, p. 333.)
- Feb. 11, 1858. Belgium. Extradition Treaty; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, June 15, 1858. (Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 462-63.)
- Mar. 4, 1853. Paraguay. Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, May 1, 1854. (Ex. Jo., Vol. IX, p. 317-19.)
- June 20, 1855. Nicaragua. Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation; ratification ad-

- vised by Senate with amendments, Aug. 13, 1856. (Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 146-47.)
- Mar. 10, 1856. Baden. Extradition Treaty; concluded Mar. 10, 1856; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1856. (Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 144-45.)
- May 27, 1856. Chili. Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, Navigation and Extradition; concluded May 27, 1856; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 10, 1857. (Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 232-33.)
- May 29, 1856. Netherlands. Extradition Treaty; concluded May 29, 1856; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Feb. 16, 1857. (Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 194-95.)
- Oct. 17, 1856. Great Britain. Treaty Relative to the Rights of the Mosquito Tribe of Nicaragua; concluded Oct. 17, 1856; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 12, 1857. (Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 244-48.)
- Dec. 1, 1856. Chili. Treaty Relative to the Rights, Privileges, and Duties of Consuls; concluded Dec. 1, 1856; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 10, 1857. (Ex. Jo., Vol. X, p. 232-233.)
- Mar. 16, 1859. Nicaragua. Treaty of Friendship and Commerce; concluded Mar. 16, 1859; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, June 26, 1860. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XI, p. 218.)
- May 29, 1862. Salvador. Treaty of Amity, Consular Privileges, and Extradition; concluded May 29, 1862; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, June 23, 1862. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XII, p. 369-70.)
- Oct. 11, 1870. Guatemala. Extradition Treaty; concluded Oct. 11, 1870; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Mar. 31, 1871. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XVIII, p. 50-51.)
- Oct. 11, 1870. Guatemala. Extradition Treaty; concluded Oct. 11, 1870; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Dec. 5, 1888; (Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 370.)
 Treaty of same date twice amended by Senate. Treaty amended but never ratified.
- Aug. 11, 1874. Ottoman Empire (Turkey). Naturalization Convention; concluded Aug. 11, 1874; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Jan. 22, 1875. (Ex. Jo., Vol. 19, p. 491.) Turkey did not accept the Senate amendment until fourteen years

- later. At that time the President resubmitted the treaty to the Senate and ratification was again advised but with a further amendment which in turn proved unacceptable to Turkey, Feb. 28, 1889. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 469.)
- June 23, 1884. Argentine Republic. Additional Article to the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation of July 27, 1853; concluded June 23, 1884; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Jan. 7, 1887. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XXV, p. 686-88.)
- Feb. 20, 1885. Mexico. Extradition Treaty; concluded Feb. 20, 1885; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, June 3, 1886. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XXV, p. 483-84.)
- Mar. 12, 1888. China. Exclusion Treaty; concluded Mar. 12, 1888; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, May 7, 1888. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 256-57.)
- July 11, 1888. Mexico. Convention Regulating the Crossing of the Frontier by Cattle; concluded July 11, 1888; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Oct. 1, 1888. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVI, p. 355-56.)
- Mar. 25, 1892. France. Extradition Convention; concluded Mar. 25, 1892; (Holt says ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, by vote 40-16. Ex. Jo., Vol. XXVIII, p. 382, although once rejected by a vote of 23-23. Also listed by H. C. Lodge in Scribner's Magazine, 1902, p. 43.)
- Feb. 5, 1900. Great Britain. Treaty to Facilitate the Construction of a Ship Canal to Connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; concluded Feb. 5, 1900; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments, Dec. 30, 1900. (Ex. Jo., Vol. XXXII, p. 621-25.)
- Nov. 24, 1903. Netherlands. Extradition for Colonies, extending the Convention for the Extradition of Criminals, signed June 3, 1887; ratification advised by the Senate with amendments. Jan. 27, 1904; (Ex. F, 58th, 1st.)
- Nov. 1, 1904. France. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. I, 58th, 3rd.)
- Nov. 1, 1904. Switzerland. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. J, 58th, 3rd.)
- Nov. 22, 1904. Germany. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. K, 58th, 3rd.)
- Nov. 23, 1904. Portugal. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. H, 58th, 3rd.)

- Dec. 12, 1904. Great Britain. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. G, 58th, 3rd.)
- Dec. 14, 1904. Italy. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. N, 58th, 3rd.)
- Dec. 31, 1904. Spain. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. O, 58th, 3rd.)
- Jan. 6, 1905. Austria-Hungary. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. P, 58th, 3rd.)
- Jan. 18, 1905. Mexico. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. R, 58th, 3rd.)
- Jan. 20, 1905. Norway and Sweden. Arbitration; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Feb. 11, 1905. (Ex. S, 58th, 3rd.)
- Aug. 3, 1911. Great Britain. Arbitration; a
 Treaty Extending the Scope and Obligation Adopted in the Arbitration Treaty of
 April, 1908; ratification advised by the
 Senate with amendment, Mar. 7, 1912.
 (Ex. H, 62nd, 2nd.)
- Aug. 3, 1911. France. Arbitration (identical with British Treaty); ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Mar. 7, 1912. (Ex. I, 62nd, 2nd.)
- July 24, 1914. Argentina. Treaty for the Advancement of General Peace (Bryan Conciliation Type); ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1914. (Ex. AA, 63d, 2nd.)
- Dec. 17, 1913. Nicaragua. Treaty for the Advancement of General Peace; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1914; made public Aug. 13, 1914. (Ex. O, 63d, 2nd.)
- Aug. 7, 1913. Salvador. Treaty for the Advancement of General Peace; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1914; made public Aug. 13, 1914. (Ex. K, 63d, 2nd.)
- Jan. 20, 1914. International Convention on General Safety of Life at Sea; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation, Dec. 16, 1914; made public Dec. 16, 1914. (Ex. B, 63d, 3rd.)
- Feb. 4, 1914. Persia. Treaty for the Advancement of General Peace; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Aug. 13, 1914; made public Aug. 13, 1914. (Ex. R, 63d, 2nd.)
- Jan. 15, 1917. Great Britain. Convention Making Desertion of Minor or Dependent Children

an Extraditable Offense; ratification advised by the Senate with amendment, Apr. 27, 1921; made public Apr. 27, 1921. (Ex. A, 64th, 2nd.)

*Feb. 24, 1928. Adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice; adherence to the Protocol advised by the Senate with reservations, Jan. 27, 1926. (Senate Resolution, 69th Cong., Senate Document 309, 67th, 4th.)

"(Date on which President Harding transmitted Protocol to Senate.)

Mar. 2, 1923. Great Britain. Convention for the Preservation of the Halibut Fishing of the Northern Pacific Ocean; ratification advised by the Senate with reservation in note of amendment Mar. 4, 1923. (Ex. D, 67th, 4th.)

Note: This Convention, which was unacceptable to Canada in its amended form, was resubmitted to the Senate by the President on December 11, 1923, and was ratified without the objectionable reservations on May 31, 1924.